Orissa
in Simon, Nerhu Reports;
and
in the Provincial and India Government despatches in the First Round Table Conference.

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Orissa in Simon Report.

VOLUME I.

Bihar and Orissa.

PAGES 68-69.

87.--The province of Bihar and Orissa, which was constituted in 1912, *is the most artificial unit of all the Indian provinces.* It was formed by bringing under a single administration three areas which differ markedly, not only in physical features, but in many racial, linguistic, and cultural characteristics.

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At the other end of the province, in the south, and completely separated from Bihar by the Chota Nagpur plateau, lie the three coastal districts of Orissa. Though Orissa stretches along the Bay of Bengal for some three hundred miles, it has no port of any consequence. The tract is made up of the deltas of a number of large rivers, and agriculture suffers greatly from periodic floods. Its urban population, which is relatively more important than in the case of north Bihar or Chota Nagpur, is mostly concentrated in the two towns of Cuttack and Puri; the latter sup-

ports its population mainly by catering for pilgrims to the Jagannath temple, and for visitors who come to it as a health resort. The population of Orissa is almost entirely Hindu, Muhammadans accounting for less than 3 per cent, of the inhabitants. But whereas in Bihar Hindi or Urdu is practically the universal language, 96 per cent of the population of Orissa speak Oriya. This Hindu Holy land is the home of the Oriya race. Apart from spreading into a portion of adjoining Madras territory, the Oriya-speaking people have penetrated into a hinter-land somewhat similar in character to the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The greater part of this hinter-land is not British territory, but is held by the Orissa Feudatory States. How artificial the union of Orissa with Bihar really is may be illustrated by the fact that the deputation from Orissa, which attended the Commission at Patna, made the journey by travelling via Calcutta. It is noteworthy that the great railway systems which connect Calcutta with the West and the South both pass through the province of Bihar and Orissa, but there is no convenient direct route between the northern and southern portions of the Province.

Between Bihar on the North and Orissa on the South lies Chota Nagpur, with Ranchi as its principal town. It is a table-land rising to about 3, 000 feet, with wooded hills and open up-lands intersected by rich valleys. About half of its population consists of aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes. There is great

variety in the languages spoken in the area; 30 per cent of the population use Hindi and about the same number Oriya, while in certain districts the prevailing tongue is one or other of the Munda or the Dravidian languages. The Chota Nagpur plateau, especially on its eastern side, is rich in minerals. It contains the most important coal field in India, round Jharia, and at Jamshedpur are the great Tata Iron and steel works, employing tens of thousands of men. The greater part of the unskilled labour at the industrial centres is drawn from the local aboriginal tribes, who also form an important recruiting ground for labour on tea estates in Assam. There are also tea gardens in the neighbour-hood of Ranchi.

Excluded area of Bihar and Orissa.

Page 70.

The district of Angul, which contains an aboriginal population of 74 per cent, lies in the midst of the Orissa State. The district came late into British hands, and from the first has received a distinctive system of administration.

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The Presidency of Madras.

Pages 55-56.

74. Madras may be divided into several areas according to the predominance of particular languages.

...... in the extreme north-east of the province there are several Oriya-speaking areas. These linguistic differences have during recent years assumed considerable political importance owing to the separatist tendencies which they have fostered.

Calcutta.

PAGE 61.

79. The Bengali generally has not taken to factory or mill work he leaves that almost entirely to the Oriya and up-country cooli or artisan.

VOLUME II.

The Road to Federation.

PAGE 19.

31. * * We have already indicated the need for a reconsideration of the boundaries of the present provinces, and we have expressed our hopes that at some future time the Indian States may adhere to an All-India Federation.

Need for Provincial Redistribution.

PAGE 24.

38. But first we must make an observation on the size and shape of the provinces themselves. There

is a considerable body of opinion in India which calls for some readjustment of boundaries and redistribution of areas, and we entirely share the views of those who think that the present arrangement is not altogether satisfactory. The existing provincial boundaries in more than one case embrace areas and peoples of no natural affinity, and sometimes separate those who might under a different scheme be more naturally united. There are, however, very great difficulties in the way of redistribution, and the history of the partition of Bengal stands as a warning of the caution needed before undertaking any operation so likely to run counter to old association or to inflame suspicion and resentment. Moreover, the consequential administrative and financial adjustments are bound to be of an extremely complex character. The Nehru Report contains an interesting chapter on redistribution of provinces and discusses the difficult subject of "linguistic areas" with a good deal of detail, though without coming to final conclusions¶. If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and

¶ Nehru Report, pp. 61-69. Para 86 of the recommendations does not carry the matter any further.

town and between coast line and interior, may all be relevant factors. Most important of all perhaps, for practical purposes, is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed, both on the side of the area that is gaining, and on the side of the area that is losing territory. It is manifestly impossible for us to recommend a redrawing of the map of India according to some new pattern. *An urgent case for consideration and treatment is that of the Oriya-speaking peoples*, most, but not all, of whom are now included in Orissa, because *we consider that so close a union as now exists between Orissa and Bihar is a glaring example of the artificial connection of areas which are not naturally related. We were so much impressed with this instance that we arranged, in co-operation with the Indian Central Committtee and the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Committee, for the appointment of a Sub-Committee to investigate it more in detail.* A summary of the Sub-Committee's report is printed at the end of this chapter.

Similarly, we have given special attention to the case of Sind, for the Sindhis are both racially and geographically completly separated from the rest of the Bombay Presidency.

The cases of Orissa and Sind, however, are only prominent-examples of a class of question which arises at many points when provincial boundaries are considered. These boundaries as a rule, have none of

the characteristics of a natural frontier; the lines they follow are largely due to the way in which British authority happened to spread over the sub-continent and to the order of time in which different accretions became joined to what was already organized as an administrative unit.

As long as the Government of India was entirely centralized and both the administration and finance of any area were provided and directed from the centre, the line taken by a provincial boundary was of less importance. But now that the provinces have a real political existence of their own, the situation is changing, and if, as we hope, the time is coming when each province will not only have its own Provincial Government and its own Provincial resources but will form a unit in a federated whole, *it is extremely important that the adjustment of provincial areas should take place before the new process has gone too far. Once the mould is set, any mal-distribution will be still more difficult to correct.* We, therefore, propose, and we regard it as a matter of ***urgent importance***, that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman, which would investigate the main cases in which provincial readjustment seems called for, and should endeavour to work out schemes with a view to seeing how far agreement is possible. The shifting of landmarks is proverbially an operation which may bring down anything but blessings on the head of the

reformer, it can be prudently undertaken only after taking full account of the interests and even the prejudices concerned. In the meantime, we can only proceed on the basis that the boundaries of the provinces are what they at present are, and on this basis we turn to the question of provincial constitutional reform.

Summary of report of Orissa Sub-Committee.

PAGE. 50.

(Note—The Sub-Committee cosnisted of Dr, Suhrawardy, of the Indian Central Committee, the Raja of Kanika and Mr. Lakshmidhar Mahanti of the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Committee with Major Attlee as Chairman. The Sub Committee had the advantage of the assistance of officers who had served in the area, and two of its number had represented parts of the Oriya-speaking country on legislative bodies.

(1) Distribution of the Oriyas :— ¶

(a) In Bihar and Orissa Province	4,798,768
(b) Orissa Feudatory States	2,940,338
(c) In Madras Presidency	1,566,966
(d) In Central Provinces	190,294
(e) C. P. Feudatory States	58,578
(f) In Bengal Presidency	142,107
Total	9,697,051

¶ See linguistic Map at the end of this volume. *A map of Oriya-speaking tracts has been given which, we fail to reproduce.*

(2) The case of the Oriya-speaking peoples is based on the fact that although possessed of a common culture and language, they are now divided among a number of separate administrative areas, in all of which they form a small minority. They claim to be a distinct people with a history and tradition of their own. They claim that all the Oriya tracts should be amalgamated, and that this single unit should be either a separate administration or incorporated as a whole with another. The Sub Committee considered that the grievance was well founded, the demand substantially supported by the people, and the Oriya case deserving of sympathy.

3. The Sub-Committee considered in detail the areas comprised in the above table. It took into consideration not merely linguistic and racial composition but administrative and economic factors, and came to the following conclusions. The population of the Orissa Division is 90 per cent Oriya and forms the natural nucleus of the race. **Angul**, though containing many aboriginies, **should be included.** The Orissa Feudatory States which are not part of British India should be brought into relationship with any administration set up for Oriyas. Singhbhum contains less than 20 per cent of Oriyas and 75 per cent of aboriginies. The composition of its population, its geographical position and its economic interests militate against its inclusion in Orissa. The Sub Committee recommends its exclusion.

In Bengal there is only the possibility of minor adjustments of boundary in the circles of Mohonpur and Gopiballabhpur in the interests of Orissa. In the Central Province with the exception of the Khariar estate the Oriyas are in minority; generally they do not exceed 25 per cent. Minor adjustments are only recommended. In Madras it is not recommended that any part of the Vizagapatam Agency Tract should be transferred as the lines of communication run south east, and it is necessary that this backward area should continue to be linked with the coastal area of which it forms the hinter-land. As regards Ganjam, while the evidence is contradictory, and linguistic, racial and economic considerations conflict, it is recommended that all parts of the district north of a line drawn westward from the coast between Ichapuram and Sompeta to the Agency and those parts of the Agency where Khonds predominate should go to Orissa. The Sub-Committee came to this conclusion in the light of present communications but railway and road development in the north of the Presidency may invalidate the view now advanced.

(4) After consideration of the alternative of transfer of the territory as a whole to a particular province, and the creation of a sub-province, the Sub-Committee was **in favour of the creation of an Orissa Province,** although it recognised that the decision involved the larger question of subdivision of existing provinces.

(5) Estimates of revenue and expenditure were presented which depended to some extent on unascertainable factors. The Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that with strict economy the new province could just pay its way, if income and expenditure remained as at present, but that the normal income could not provide for a large measure of development, for the needs of the backward areas or for the periodic ravages of flood and famine. The question of the establishment of a separate province, therefore, depends on the financial relationship between the central and provincial Governments in respect of deficit areas.

(6) The Sub-Committee recommended that **special precautions** should be taken to ensure the **reliability of returns at the next census.**

(7) Mr. Lakshmidhar Mahanti thought that the boundaries of Orissa might be considerably extended especially by the inclusion of Singbhum.

Existing provinces unsuitable fiscal units

PAGE 247.

280. This argument would be somewhat modified if a regrouping of the provinees of India were possible, under which the country would be divided up into 4 or 5 provinces, each having its own port, its industrial area, and its agricultural hinter-land.

Consequential Adjustments.

PAGE 301.

347......If the readjustment of provincial boundaries results in the carving out of additional provinces, other cases may arise in which **one High Court ought to serve more than one provincial** area and our solution prevents fresh difficulty arising from this cause. It involves no denial of the principles of provincial self-government, for, of course, the High Court, whether in Calcutta or elsewhere, in carrying on its judicial work is entirely independent of the Executive; whether provincial or central, and is equally outside the range of criticism by the legislatures.

Outline of Provincial Changes.

PAGE 312.

364......As for provincial areas, the question **whether some redistribution is desirable** will **at once** be taken up; such cases as those of Sind and the **Oriya-speaking** peoples **will be the first** to be considered.

Chotanagpur Tracts not wholly excluded.

PAGE 110.

132. But, putting aside those areas at present included among backward tracts which might on further enquiry be found suitable for removal from the

category altogether, there will remain other tracts which cannot be considered "typically backward." The general principle which we think should be applied is that where the bulk of the inhabitants of a backward tract are so little advanced that representative institutions cannot be provided in their case, the treatment which we have proposed in the last paragraph for the Assam tracts should be adopted. On the other hand, where backward tracts are more developed though still unfitted to take their full share in the normal constitutional advance, different arrangements may have to be made in order to secure that they exercise such authority in respect of their own affairs as circumstances make possible. The best and perhaps the only instances of this latter class are those of Chota Nagpur, * Sambalpur and the Santal Parganas. These areas as we have said, have returned members to the provincial council and if they were entirely removed from the operation of the reformed provincial constitution in the same way as we propose that the Assam Tracts should be, they would lose the position they now hold. On the other hand these areas are deficit areas (this is one of the reasons why we think they had better not remain under the provincial Government), and the outlay which is necessary for their administration and

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* Except perhaps the Government estate in the Singhbhum district of Chota Nagpur which is called the Kolhan, This area, it seems, is a "typically backward tract" See Vol. XII; Memorandum of the Bihar and Orissa Government, Pages, 335, 339 and 355.

development ought to fall upon central funds in so far as they do not pay for themselves.

133. It is evident, therefore, that these areas present a problem which, as things are, calls for exceptional treatment. It **is possible that in connection with some redistribution of provincial boundaries hereafter** (see paragraph 38 above) **a different arrangement will suggest itself. We have already recommended that the claim of Oriya-speaking areas (which would include Sambalpur) to be recognized as a separate unit should be promptly considered and it may be** that the ultimate solution for Chota Nagpur is that it should continue under the charge of the Government of Bihar, while forming a separate unit, with such institutions as are suitable for its condition. But we must indicate what we think should be done in the meantime. These tracts should continue to return representatives to the Bihar and Orissa Legislature, the Governor, as the agent of the Governor General in Council, will decide how far legislation enacted at Patna should apply to them. They will be under the same system of taxation, for provincial purposes, as the rest of the province, and the provincial revenues raised within them must be spent upon them. The additional funds needed must, as we have already said, come from central revenues. The administration of these areas as of other backward tracts, will rest with the Government of India, which will act through the Governor, but we think that

rules should be made to provide how far the Governor in the exercise of his agency duties would act in consultation with Ministers of the province who would advise him in the discharge of the responsibilities.

ORISSA IN THE NEHRU REPORT.

Redistribution of Provinces.

PAGE 61.

Present distribution irrational.

Every one knows that the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis. It is merely due to accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India. As a whole it has little to do with geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons. Even from the purely administrative point of view it is not a success. It is clear that there must be a redistribution of provinces. Some of us favour small provinces, others prefer large provinces. But small or large, the question of redistribution has to be tackled.

PAGE 61.

Principles of redistribution

What principles should govern this redistribution? Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the main considerations must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. It is well recognised that rapid progress in education

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talics and underlines are ours.

as well as in general culture and in most departments of life depends on language. If a foreign language is the medium of instruction, business and affairs and the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for these purposes.

PAGES 63-64.

We have also received a small book giving the case for Utkal but we regret we have been unable to consider it in the absence of any special memorandum or representation. Our colleague, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is however satisfied that the Oriya-speaking areas should be amalgamated and constituted into a separate province if this is financially possible. He is further of opinion that the demand for the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking tracts in Assam and Bihar and Orissa is a reasonable and legitimate one.

Utkal.

PAGE 68.

We might add that the separation of an area and the formation of a new province does not necessarily imply a separate economic life. Nor does it mean a duplication of all the organs of Government. For instance it is quite possible for one High Court to serve more than one Province.

Views of Local Governments on the Recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission 1930.

Bengal Government's letter 16th September 1930

PARA 28. (PAGE 137):—

There remains the question of territorial adjustments. These, if the Commission's proposals are adopted, will involve the transfer of two small blocks of land to the new Oriya-speaking Province and the exclusion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and possibly the Darjeeling District. This implies important adjustments of both revenue and expenditure, but it has been considered premature to examine at this stage the actual financial effects.

Opinion of the Government of Bihar and Orissa

PARAGRAPH 38. (PAGE 326) :—

Need for Provincial Redistribution. The Commission, recognising the force of the opinions expressed in favour of a readjustment of provincial boundaries, recommend the appointment of a Boundary Commission. They, however, have paid special attention to the union which now exists between Bihar and Orissa,

which they regard as a glaring example of the artificial connection of areas not naturally related; and the Sub-Committee appointed by them to examine this question were in favour of the creation of an Orissa Province, consisting of the Orissa Division of Bihar and Orissa, small portions of Bengal and the Central Provinces, and a large portion of the district of Ganjam in Madras. They recommend that the problem of the union of the Oriya-speaking areas as a separate unit should be the first to be considered by the proposed Commission.

The amalgamation for the Oriya-speaking tracts stands on a very different footing from minor readjustments of provincial boundaries. It has been recognised that the grievances of the Oriyas is well-founded and the demand has the substantial support of the people. The case of Orissa thus satisfies what is regarded by the Commission as one of the most important tests to be applied to the consideration of these problems, that there should be the largest possible measure of agreement on the change proposed. The Commission proposal involves the removal from the existing Province of Bihar of nearly one-fifth of the total area, and of a population of nearly five millions out of a total population for 34 millions. The future constitution of both areas is thus greatly affected by the proposals, in particular in regard to such matters as the strength of the Council, communal representation and finance.

If a Boundary Commission is appointed to deal with adjustments all over India it will take many years to complete its labours. The problem of Orissa is, however, urgent, delay over its solution will cause resentment among the Oriyas, whose hopes have been raised by the recommendation of the Commission, and will adversely affect the interests of Bihar which cannot have a settled constitution or definite financial settlement till this problem is decided. The local Government therefore, strongly support the recommendation of the Commission that it should be taken up at once, and press for the appointment of a Boundary Commission to examine the question during the fo thcoming cold weather, so that, if possible, a decision may be arrived at as to the future constitution of both areas and necessary provision embodied in the revised Government of India Act. Even if this suggestion is accepted and a decision is arrived at on the financial problem, which has hitherto been the stumbling block in the way of any proposals put forward, some time must inevitably elapse before the new Province can actually come into existence; new buildings for the headquarters of the Province will have to be constructed, and numerous minor problems of administration will have to be decided. Though the date on which the constitution will come into effect in other provinces is uncertain, it may be assumed that arrangements for the inauguration of Orissa as a separate Province cannot be complete before that date. As will appear from the views of

the local Government on the backward tracts, the Boundary Commission should also consider the situation in Chotanagpore aud the Santal Parganas. The Government of India Act should therefore, make provision for a temporary constitution of the province as it exists at present as well as for the future constitution of Orissa and the backward tracts.

PARA 14, (PAGE-334)—

Further, the responsibility of the Government in whose charge they are placed will be increased by the administration of the Backward Tracts and the care of the Feudatory States of Orissa, while service questions may also in the beginning very frequently demand his personal attention. In all these matters the assistance of a trained administrator will be invaluable.

(PAGE 357) FINANCIAL ASPECT OF THE PROPOSED PARTITION OF THE PROVINCE. PARA 55 :—

Throughout this review of the financial proposals the local Government have endeavoured to deal with the problem as far as possible from a not entirely provincial stand-point. Where, however, it has been necessary to consider the provincial interest, they have had no option, in view of the uncertainty as to the future of Orissa and the 'backward tracts', but to discuss the problem from the stand-point of Bihar and Orissa as at present constituted. But, if Orissa is to be formed into a separate Province and if Chota Nagpore is to be administered as a separate (or parti-

ally separated) unit, it is obivious that new financial problems of great importance and complexity will have to be faced. Both Orissa and Chota Nagpore are 'deficit areas'. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the revenue derived from each of these tracts is barely sufficient to meet their 'running charges' and that neither of them contributes anything towards the 'overhead charges' of the province as a whole. **By the separation of these areas from Bihar proper, the latter would obtain some relief.**

Orissa, on the other hand, would be saddled with its own overhead charges, and would find great difficulty in meeting them. The share which Orissa might expect to receive from the contemplated new revenues would be a very small one. Being less thickly populated than Bihar proper, it would derive less benefit from the provincial fund, and the income-tax realised in the Oriya-speaking tracts is comparatively small. One method of giving some measure of relief to the new Province of Orissa would be by the remission of the interest charges (amounting to 8½ lakhs a year) payable under Devolution Rule 24 in respect of irrigation works which were undertaken by the Governor General in Council more than sixty years ago and are now maintained by the provincial Government at a dead loss. Another point to be borne in mind is that the new province will of course **require a capital grant,** such as was given to Bihar and Orissa on its separation from Bengal, to enable it to meet its heavy initial expenditure.

PAGE 364-365. PARA 2 (5) :—In Orissa, except in Balasore where the Congress associations have been particularly active, the report has been favourably received, since it definitely recognises the claims of Oriyas for an amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts, and keen disappointment will be felt if these proposals are not carried into effect at an early date.

The position at present is that the forthcoming Round Table Conference at London has superseded the Report of the Commission in the public interest, Political opinion, with the exception of the extremists of the Congress party, is attracted by the idea of a conference with an open agenda for the settlement of the constitutional problem.

PART III

The Backward Tracts.

(344) CHAPTER 2 :—

33. On the question of the back-ward tracts, or excluded areas, there is a sharp division of opinion within the local Government on more than one matter. It is represented on one side that there is no need for exclusion of any area from the provincial administration, that there has not been recently, and , is not likely to be in future, any exploitation of aboriginal weakness by the more advanced classes, and that special protection will

not hasten but rather impede the aboriginal's progress.

But there is no question that the opinion of the aboriginal races themselves is unanimous in demanding special treatment; and the Commission, in endorsing the views of the Montague-Chelmsford Report, are definite on the subject that some protection is required while the aboriginal tracts develop the institutions suitable for themselves, it is hardly profitable to discuss this matter further, or to repeat the arguments which were fully expounded in the evidence and in the report of the Commission.

34. The next difference is on the question to which administration the excluded areas in Bihar and Orissa should be attached. Two members of Government support the view that it will be advantageous in more ways than one that the excluded areas should be attached to Orsssa. The Commission have recommended that Orissa should have a separate administration, but the population of an enlarged Orissa will not exceed seven millions in British India, and its revenues will be very limited. Thus the addition of Chota Nagpore Division and of the Santal Parganas would bring it nearer to the standard of a minor province an would help to support the overhead charges. Later as the back-ward tracts reach a stage when they can merge in the normal administration, it will be

easier for the advanced aboriginal to hold his own against the Oriya than it would be against the more combative Bihari. An immediate advantange of this amalgamation would be that buildings for the new Government would be avilable at Ranchi and the opening of the new province would thus be faci-lated. Cuttack at present having no buildings which would be suitable for the Provincial Government.

On the otherhand Bihar, at present the senior partner in Bihar and Orissa, while the Biharis assent to a divorce from Orissa as recommended by the Commission, resents the idea of any further dismemberment of the province by the attachment of the aboriginal areas to the Orissa administration. Further where the population of the excluded tracts has only a minority of aboriginals, the admixture is far more of Biharis, and Oriyas only come into the picture in the districts of Singbhum and Manbhum.

35. The antagonism on the question is so sharp and personal feelings comes in so strongly that it would, in the opinion of the local Government, be better to postpone a decision for the advice of the Boundary Commission, with an impartial Chairman as proposed in paragraph 38 of the Report. The Local Government have already recommended the early appointment of such a Commission to consider the question of the amal-

gamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts, and the same Commission could conveniently consider the further question of these excluded areas.

36. Apart from the question of the association of the excluded tracts with one or another province, there are several matters on question the local Government find a difficulty in accepting the vaguely outlined proposals of the Commission. The Commission recognise that in regard to these areas Parliament have a special responsibility which cannot be fully discharged unless adequate funds are made available to carry on the work of education and development. They suggest that this responsibility will best be discharged if it is entrusted to the Central Government, by which apparently is meant that funds should be voted by the Central Assembly. With this view the local Government cannot agree. The Federal Assembly will have little knowledge of, and take no interest in these areas, and there is no reason to hold that it will be more ready to vote funds for their development than the provincial Council, which in the past 10 years has not dealt unfairly with these areas and has given them their share in such funds as have been available for the development of education and spread of medical relief, But the main point emphasised by the Commission is that special funds are necessary to force the growth of the backward tracts to enable them to take their place in the scheme of Provincial

Governments; and these they cannot be expected to receive from a provincial Council which has no share in the administration of these tracts. If the provision of adequate funds cannot be left to the province, neither can it be left to the Assembly if the special responsibility is to be discharged; and the local Government see no way out of the impasse except that the sums required to supplement the revenues of these areas should be either non-voted or should be certifiable by the Governor General.

37. The Commission's suggestions for the immediate constitution for this area are as follows:—

(i) the tract should return representatives to the Bihar and Orissa Legislature,

(ii) the Governor as agent of the Governor General in Council should decide how far legislation enacted at Patna should apply to them.

(iii) revenues raised in the area should be spent therein and should be supplemented by additional funds from central revenues

(iv) the administration should rest with the Government of India acting through the Governor, who, as under the present system of dyarchy, would act in consultation with the Ministers of the Bihar Province.

These proposals are open to numerous criticisms. The Bihar Council will undoubtedly resent a system

whereby the representatives of Chota Nagpore have a free vote on matters concerning Bihar, when its own powers in respect of legislation for this area are curtailed by the powers vested in the Governor.

Nor, again, will the position in regard to the Ministers be satisfactory. They will have full powers of control in Bihar, while in Chota Nagpore they will be merely advisers of the Governor. They too may resent this limitation and prefer to concentrate their efforts on Bihar proper, and future Ministers even be reluctant to spare the services of their administrative staff for work in this area. Finally, if the Governor is to administer the area as an agent, he should be, as in other matters, the agent of the Governor General in Council.

There appears little justification for such an anomalous system which can hardly be expected to work smoothly. The result may be renewed attacks on the system of administrasion in the backward tracts, such as have not been uncommon in the last 10 years.

38. In the present notification under the Government of India Act, backward tracts are described by the existing administrative districts. The local Government are of opinion that parts of the Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Singbhum, and perhaps Sambalpore and Angul districts need not be retained in the special position

but might, owing to the large proportion of non-aboriginal population, take their place under the Government of Bihar or of Orissa. It will be for the Bouudary Commission to investigate this matter and advise which of the areas now treated as backward tracts should continue so, and what degree of protection each of each such areas will require. It is recognized that it may take time for a decision to be reached by the Boundary Commission, and in the transition state the protection at present given by Section 52 and 71 of the Government of India Act must everywhere be maintained.

39. The local Government notice that in the second volume of their Report the Commission have omitted Angul from the list of backward tracts in this province. This ommission must be due to in-avertence, as parts of Angul, particularly the Khondmals, are among the most backward parts of the province.

C. P. Government's letter: P 370 12th August 1930.

"In the circumstances this Government advises that a decision be given in favour of the present large province system, and that the reforms now under discussion be not held up, but that, when they have come into operation, a boundaries commission be appointed to report on the two cases of Sind and Orissa, subject to the instruction indicated above. There is no need for the Commission to function in this province apart from the Orissa question."

Extract from Government of India's Despatch on Proposals for Constitutional Reform, 20th September 1930.

ART. 21. BOUNDARIES COMMISSION. We come now to a consideration of the detailed proposals made by the Statutory Commission, and following the order in which they have approached the problem we shall deal first with the Governors' provinces. The first subject on which the Commission touch is the need for provincial redistribution. They suggest that the Government of India should set up, as a matter of urgent importance, a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman, to investigate the main cases in which provincial readjustment seems called for. The

two particular cases to which the Commission themselves give their attention are Orissa and Sind.

The claim of the Oriyas to a separate province of their own is of long-standing. In their letter the Government of Bihar and Orissa have drawn attention to the need of making early investigation into all relevant factors with a view to satisfying the **very natural desire** of the Oriya-speaking peoples to possess an administration of their own. The claim of Sind to be a self-contained unit has become increasingly prominent in **recent years.** The preponderance of the local population is Muslim, and their claim to separation from the Bombay Presidency has been ardently advocated. Neither on Orissa nor on Sind are we yet in a position to tender final advice, but we urge that enquiries be set on foot at the earliest possible date. We should not contemplate entrusting the task to a single Boundaries Commission. The two problems are not connected, and we should suggest investigation by two separate committees. We wish to emphasize the need for expedition in reaching conclusions on these two out-standing cases, which are respectively of fundamental importance to the two provinces of Bihar and Orissa and of Bombay, as they now exist, in order that, **if new arrangements are required, they may be introduced simultaneously with the new constitution.** We conceive that the Sind Committee will be concerned primarily with the administrative and financial aspects of separation,

for the question is not one of boundaries. In Orissa on the other hand difficult questions of future boundaries will be directly in issue.

Other possible readjustments of provincial boundaries should in our view **stand over**, until opinion has more clearly expressed itself. It would be for the new administrations themselves to take up such cases as they arise.

Extract from proceedings of the First Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November 1930, 19th January 1931.

Comments on Committee of whole Conference (16th January, 1931), on Report of Sub-Committee No. IX (Sind).

(*N.B.* With the permission of the Prime Minister the question of creating a separate province for the Oriya-speaking people was raised in the course of the discussion on this Report).

CHAIRMAN:—The first paragraph is again the record. Paragraph 2 noted. 3 noted. 4 noted. Now in putting the Report as a whole, a .promise was given to the Raja of Parlakimedi that he should say something on this general Report, but as a matter of fact it is on the subject of Orissa.

Raja of Parlakimedi :—Sir, on behalf of 10 millions of Oriyas, the subjects of His Majesty, I rise to present their long-standing grievances on this occasion. The memorandum I have placed in your hand a few days since has been able, I hope, to give a clear insight into all the present difficulties the Oriyas are placed under, situated as they are in 4 different provinces. I will not tire you with the details of the history for unification of the Oriyas, agitating as they have been for the last quarter of a century and more. As one well-informed of the facts, I should lay before you all today that the formation of a separate province for the Oriyas is a life and death problem to them. They feel tortured with all the disabilities and disadvantages of one being a distant adjunct lying at the tail end of every province wherever they are; far away from the seat of Government of the respective province, and always in a unique minority, completely lost sight of, being merged in the teeming millions of population of those Provinces.

I appeal to you all, gentlemen, to appreciate the peculiar position of the Oriyas and their demand, as recommended by several official bodies time after time. We want a Province of our own on the basis of language and race, to be ourselves a homogenous unit with feelings of contentment and peace, to realise and be benefitted by the projected reforms to India by both Indian and British politicians, who look forward to the day when the United States of India will

consist of small federated States based on common language and race. Without a separate Province for the 10 millions of Oriyas, let me tell you, Sir, that all your labours at this Conference to develop Parliamentary institutions in Provinces with autonomous powers, will prove, on the contrary, seriously injurious to the Oriyas.

The patience with which we have waited and the loyalty to the British Crown with which we have looked up to always for justice, sympathy, and fair treatment, have proved as Lord Curzon put it once: "Were the Orissans an agitating people, which they are not, they would soon make their protest heard. As it is they have been sacrificed without compunction."

I am right I think, Sir, in my presumption, that you all consider the Oriya problem as the least controversial of all, the problems that this Conference has had to deal with. You are aware that the Simon Commission the Government of India Despatch, and all the Provincial Governments concerned have recognised the urgent necessity for the immediate solution of the question. The question of finance, however, is evidently the only obstacle in the way of their recommending the formation of a separate Province for the Oriyas. My answer to that is that finance is not, after all, a fence of such insurmountable dimensions when we have to save a great historic

race with an ancient civilization and culture, from being obliterated. The old saying: "Cut your coat according to the cloth" if strictly applied, comes to the rescue, to a great extent, in forming the long-sought after Orissa Province; and, again, I am fully confident that the Central Government with the same feelings of benefaction will come to the rescue of the new Province as it did in the case of Assam and Bihar and Orissa, when first they were created. One redeeming feature, however, which I should point out to you is, that we will be starting with hardly any debts; but, on the other hand, with appreciably more income than Assam had to start with. At page 404 of the Memorandum submitted by the Government of Bihar and Orissa to the Indian Statutory Commission we gather that the annual revenue of the Orissa Division of Bihar and Orissa would be about 10 millions of rupees and I am sure that with the additions of the districts as recorded by different official bodies with their gathered evidence of the people of those parts, and the people of other adjoining Oriya-speaking areas, that may be recorded by the Boundary Commission, will bring in about 20 millions of rupees to solve the financial difficulty. I may illustrate that the agency tracts with their scope for excise revenue, large areas of waste lands that are being developed and valuable forest produce, will contribute largely to the Provincial funds. In addition to this, there is an extensive coastal land containing large sheets of salt pans and scope for shipping between different parts of the Empire further

to increase the Provincial revenue. I can also assure you, Sir, that if circumstances so necessitate, we the Oriyas are prepared to bear the burden of special taxation to meet any financial deficit of the future Province.

Without further encroaching upon your valuable time, enough if I have been able to impress you, gentlemen, with the urgency of the problem. It is for you to make or mar the destiny of an ancient race, vast in numbers, cultured and advanced, but placed under painful circumstances now, though their past was bright and full of unique interest and of historical importance as those of any of the present advanced communities of India.

SIR A. P. PATRA:—

As one interested in the formation of a separate Province for the Oriyas, I support the proposal wholeheartedly. The formation of a separate Province for the Oriyas **has been agitated for since 1902. I was the first to lead the agitation** about this matter. I think a Committee should be appointed to go into this matter as soon as possible

SIR PROVASH CHANDRA MITTER :—

I associate myself with those remarks.

DR. MOONJE :—

In connection with the Report, I have been put down as one of the dissentients, and I want to state in

a few words why I dissented. I opposed the separation of Sind on a principle, and that principle is that no new Province should be created with the object of giving a majority therein to any particular community. When this question will come up for consideration as a part of the larger question of re-distribution of Provinces including the question of **the Province of Orissa**, as a previous speaker wants Orissa to be constituted into a separate Province, **I should have no objection.**

Then there is another point. The re-distribution of any Province without the consent and agreement of the two communities, Hindus and Muslims, is likely to increase the are a of communal conflict and endanger the relations between the two communities, not only in that Province but throughout India. The Hindus are against separation. Besides, it will be a deficit Province. It is on those points that I dissent from the Report.

CHAIRMAN:—

That will be noted.

RAJA NARENDRA NATH:—

I did not at the time give my reasons for my dissension, and I would briefly like to give them now.

My reasons then were as they are now, that the minority question has not been settled. I apprehend at the time that it would not be settled, and my

apprehension has proved to be true. There has been no declaration of rights unassailable by the majority community, and I do not know when we shall come to an agreement on that point. Those were my reasons then, and are now, for associating myself with Dr, Moonje.

SIR SHAH NAWAZ BHUTTO:—

I think I shall be borne out by many members of the Committee when I say that we **considered and decided this question on its own merits. It was not considered from any communal point of view or with regard to the minority question.** I think that the **point which has been raised has no force in it at all.**

CHAIRMAN :—

That will be noted.

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